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ADDRESSES

BY THE

Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, LL.D.,

AT THE

Unveiling of the Statue of Christopher Columbus,

IN

CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK.

Saturday, May 12th, 1894.

AND

BEFORE THE

Literary Societies of the University of Virginia,

June 12th, 1894.

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CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, L. L. D.,

AT THE

Unveiling of the Statue of Christopher Columbus,

IN

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May 12th, 1894.

New York can add nothing to the glory of Columbus, but she may enforce the lesson of his life and discovery. The fire kindled by him on a little island of the Western Hemisphere, amid the darkness of the fifteenth century, has become the flame which illumines the nineteenth with light and liberty. Seed time and harvest have their soil and seasons with humanity as with the earth. In all ages and among all races, the winds and the waves have borne the kernels of truth, and they have been lost on the rocks and in the waters. There were patriots before Runnymede, but their blood fertilized that field for Magna Charta. Patriots had labored and died in vain before the Declaration of Independence in 1776. German Federation had been a Teutonic dream for two thousand

years before Bismarck. Italian unity was the hope of Italy for centuries before Garibaldi, Mazzini and Cavour. The French Republic was the effort and aspiration of the best thinkers and boldest actors of France for a hundred years before Thiers and Gambetta. The Viking sailed along the coast of North America and planted colonies upon its shores five hundred years before Columbus. But the time was not ripe and the people of Europe were not prepared for America and its opportunities.

The brilliant and liberal reign of Lorenzo, the Magnificent, at Florence, which closed as Columbus sailed from Palos, had stimulated commerce, art and learning. It had both awakened and opened the mind in every country on the continent. The literary treasures of the great library of the Vatican were placed at the disposal of scholars, and the revival of learning was a marked feature of the period. The expulsion of the Moslems from Spain had relieved Europe of the strain of warring creeds. Intense intellectual activity was breaking the bonds of the Middle Ages and preparing the way for independent thought and discovery. The statesmanship and the guile of Louis the Eleventh in France, and the concentration of power in Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, had broken down feudalism and centralized authority. The road from the dismantled castles of the barons to the royal palace, and from the royal palace to the representative

assembly of the people, became the highway of liberty. These wonderful and revolutionary events were for a time the blessings only of the favored few, the great and the learned.

It was reserved not for kings or nobles or the mighty of earth to utilize the past and present for the uplifting of the masses of mankind. We may say reverently, as Christianity came for us through the son of a carpenter, so the invention which opened the way for christianizing the world was wrought out by a humble artisan of Mayence. The significance of types, and the prophecy of their use, were made clear in the selection of the Bible as their first work. The printing press of Guttenberg, and the invention of paper which had preceded it only a few years, were the levers and the levelers of the future. By bringing education within the reach of all, they elevated the people to the understanding and practice of liberty, and equal opportunity and rights battered down privilege and caste.

Incidents, which to the pious are special providences, and to others, trifling accidents, have often altered the course of history. The marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand enabled a liberal and generous mind to influence a bigoted and miserly one for the venture, certainly rash, perhaps blasphemous, into the unknown west, and made possible the voyage of Columbus. A hungry boy stopped his proud and mendicant father at the door of the convent of La Rabida to meet there in the

person of the prior, the enlightened and learned Father Juan Peregá, the confessor of the Queen, the only man living who had both the breadth and independence to understand and believe in the plans of the great navigator, and also the confidence of her Majesty. It was a flight of birds which changed the course of the Santa Maria and her consorts and gave South America to Spain and Portugal and the dominant power on the northern continent to the Saxon race. Thus, the United States, as distinguished from the Spanish republics and the Portugese Empire and subsequent Republic of Brazil, is apparently an accident of an accident. It is really the result of climate and conditions suited to the development of that resistless strain in the blood, which circles the globe with its conquests, and blended with Teuton and Celt, with Latin and Scandinavian, increases the power and the promise of our country.

Ferdinand was a typical representative of his times. We must judge the men of every period by their standards, not ours. Only fools are offended at criticisms of the State or Church of the dark ages, and only the ignorant claim that either was so abreast with the thought or education of to-day, that their substitution for present conditions would receive now either welcome or hospitality. The King believed the torture chamber better than courts of justice. He knew of no law which was superior to his au-

tocratic will. He was frugal to meanness, and devoid of generosity or integrity. He laughed at Columbus when the great navigator was pleading for the ships to find for him an empire, and he cheated the dying hero of the rewards he promised and the honors he had pledged, when the empire was won. To Isabella had been wafted across space a breath of the purer air of the nineteenth century. When we consider what she was, in spite of the almost insufferable barriers of her environment, a sweet and mighty spirit seems to have escaped from the bondage of the age, and in the beautiful presence of the Queen, inspired the soul of a saint and prophetess. She gave her jewels for the fleet, and with undimmed faith waited for the return which ended in triumphal processions and royal greetings. She struck the shackles from the Indian slaves which were brought her as part of the booty of the New World, and issued stern decrees against cruelty and lust, but they were nullified by her untimely death, and myriads of innocent men, women and children were consigned to nameless horrors and final extermination. This favored land recognizes its obligations to its benefactress, in granting to woman privileges and opportunities unknown in other countries. It gives to her independence and control in her property. It opens for her the academy and the university, and it yields to her a precedence and power at home and in society which puts within her grasp the substance of rights,

which in the boasted age of chivalry were only a flowery and pretentious sham.

Columbus was of that rare type of genius which belongs to no age and rises above the errors, or superstitions, or ignorance of his period. While most of the learned, and all the unlearned, believed the earth to be flat, he boldly proclaimed its sphericity ; while the same overwhelming majority feared the monsters of the deep, who were waiting beyond the western horizon to devour the daring and sacrilegious mariners and destroy their ships, he saw on the other side of the unknown sea limitless empire for his sovereigns, and myriads of souls for the saving offices of his Church. He had sailed to the farthest limits of the discoveries of the times. He had investigated with unprejudiced and unclouded mind the evidences cast up from the ocean of other lands and strange peoples. As sailor, privateer and pirate, he had experienced the dangers of hostile elements and armed enemies. As geographer and mapmaker, he had absorbed all the teachings of the past, and boldly placed upon his maps the new continent, with its untold wealth of gold and precious stones, and its unequalled opportunities for the power and greatness of the throne which would grant him the facilities of his voyage. The conquest of Grenada and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain seemed to the statesmen of Europe an event of transcendent importance, but to this superb enthusiast it was a local affair which delayed the plans for the capture of a continent.

The spiritual and temporal power, the pomp and pageantry of Castile and Aragon, formed an array unequalled, in the brilliancy of its King and Queen, its prelates and statesmen, its philosophers and soldiers, and in the splendor of their equipment, to receive from Boabdil the keys of his capital, and the capitulation of his kingdom. The enthusiasm of the hour lifted the Spanish hosts to heavenly ecstasy, all save one. This proud pauper, the royal purple of his imagination giving dignity to his rags and majesty to his mein, looked coldly upon the splendid spectacle. To the man who had waited for years, because he would accept no other terms with his fleet than the Admiralty of the Ocean, the Vice Royalty of the Indies and one-tenth the revenues of the Western Hemisphere, the martial field before him was only a skirmish on the battle line of the universe.

The faults of Columbus were the results of the civilization and conditions of his times, from which no man is great enough to wholly escape, but his faith was his own. After the lapse of four hundred years it is as impressive to us as it was potent with his cotemporaries. It gave immortality to the humble Convent of La Rabida and its noble prior. It clarified the atmosphere and dispelled the darkness about Isabella, so that she could grasp the great truth. It calmed the fears and quelled the mutiny of the crew, and found its reward in the glimmering light on San Salvador, which for the sailors meant land at

last, and for the Admiral the New World, of which he had dreamed, for which he had suffered, and now after discouragements and perils innumerable, had discovered.

In 1492, was issued the cruel edict, which confiscated the property of hundreds of thousands of Jews, and then expelled them from Spain. In the same year the same sovereigns who issued this edict equipped the fleet of Columbus for its immortal voyage. The unhappy and unfortunate Hebrews were landed upon the shores of Asia and Africa, but nowhere did they receive either welcome or hospitality. The little ships of Columbus as they sailed out of the harbor of Palos passed the great war vessels which were carrying these captive Israelites from their homes. The royal frigates were bearing them to fresh horrors and persecutions, but the weak and deckless caravals of the discoverer were, unknown to sovereign or servant, guided by Divine Providence to the land where all creeds and all races should dwell in the harmony of equal rights, and unite in contributing to the power and glory of a government of organized liberty.

The inspiring dream of Columbus was to utilize the treasures of the New World for the redemption from the infidel of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. He believed that by virtue of his name, Christopher, he was carrying Christ across the sea to the heathen. The lust for gold made his followers profane the name of the Prince of Peace

with such outrages and cruelties, such torturings and massacres of the confiding aborigines, as caused even the fifteenth century to shudder. He died, with his dream of the rescue of the tomb of the Saviour still a vision. He little knew, as he lay helpless amidst the ruin of his hopes, that though he had lost an empty grave, he had found a perpetual asylum for conscience. He could not foresee that while in their savage greed those with him and those who came after, gave to the Indians, not the light of truth, but consigned them to the flames, and brought to them, not the gospel of love, but fell upon them with sword and spear, yet the country he discovered would be the bulwark and hope of the Church.

The Pilgrim fathers fled from persecution in England to religious liberty in Massachusetts. The Highlanders who fought for Prince Charles Edward Stuart found refuge in North Carolina. The Quakers to be free from their tormentors sailed to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and they received there with open arms the Germans driven from the Palatinate by Louis XIV. The Huguenots escaping from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, built happy homes on the Hudson and under the shelter of the groves of South Carolina. Ogelthorpe led the Teutons seeking an opportunity to worship God according to their lights, from Salzburg to Georgia. Irishmen saved from the merciless conquests of Cromwell, scattered all over the land to consecrate their altars

and enjoy in safety their religion. Dutch Protestants came to New York, Swedish Protestants to Delaware, English Catholics to Maryland and the English Church Cavaliers to Virginia. The best contribution of Columbus to future generations was a continent for the cultivation of civil and religious liberty. A state built upon the individual and not upon classes or creeds is the source and strength of American freedom.

It was the supreme good fortune of the United States, that for its first settlers the conditions of existence were labor, temperance and thrift. The hostile savages, the rigors of the climate, the virgin forests and the resisting soil demanded the indomitable energy and dauntless courage which fashion heroes and patriots. Had there been gold mines in New England, New York and Virginia to excite the cupidity of kings and tempt the adventurers of Europe, and to demoralize the inhabitants of the colonies, and take them from their homes and their churches to the feverish excitement of mining camps, there would have been little permanent settlement or public sentiment. The farms on the bleak hillsides of Connecticut and Massachusetts, in the Mohawk Valley, along the Delaware and on the James were fountains of national virtue and springs of free thought and free speech. It was the training and experience of necessity which opened the avenues of opportunity for the people of North America. It enabled the "embattled

farmer'' at Concord and Lexington to face the veterans of European battlefields. It nerved the members of the Continental Congress to brave the terrors of treason, and confiscation and death, by their bold and clear signatures to the Declaration of Independence. It reared and trained a race who could rescind slavery, though it was interwoven with their political system from foundation to turret, and after bloody battles between those who upheld the one side and those who favored the other, could reunite to labor harmoniously for the welfare and strength of the purified Republic.

The Columbian idea of discovery was to find a land where gold could be mined from exhaustless stores, a land flowing with rivers of diamonds and precious stones. Limitless wealth, easily acquired, was to enrich, beyond the dreams of avarice, the sovereigns and people of Spain. Columbus had no conception of the adventurous pioneer and thrifty emigrant. The bell crowned Pilgrims, landing on Plymouth Rock in midwinter with no other purpose than to found a state for the enjoyment by all of just and equal laws, would have aroused his wonder and contempt. The imagination cannot picture his amazement, could he have foreseen the marvelous results of the Mayflower's voyage. The wealth poured in such abundant measure from the mines of the New World into the treasury of Spain, was a potent factor in the fall of her power and prestige in Europe.

The founders of our Republic welcomed with cordial hospitality all who came to escape from oppression or better their condition. The immigrants, who accepted the invitation and landed by millions on our shores brought the qualities and purposes which have added incalculably to the wealth and glory of our country. While South America and Mexico were demoralizing Europe with gold and silver, Europe was contributing to the United States her farmers and artisans to gather from the fruitful earth and produce in the busy factory an annual and ever increasing volume of wealth ; wealth which enriches, but does not enervate, which stimulates invention, promotes progress, founds institutions of learning, builds homes for the many and increases the happiness of all. Four centuries separate us from Columbus. Within this period more has been accomplished for humanity than during the four thousand years which preceded him.

We are here to erect this statue to his memory, because of the unnumbered blessings to America, and to the people of every race and clime which have followed his discovery. His genius and faith gave to succeeding generations the opportunity for life and liberty. We, the heirs of all the ages, in the plenitude of our enjoyments and the prodigality of the favors showered upon us, hail Columbus—hero—and benefactor.

ORATION
BEFORE THE
LITERARY SOCIETIES OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

June 12th, 1894.

BY THE
Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, LL.D.

It is both a happy coincidence and a hopeful omen that the college appoints the season of flowers and fruits and promising harvests for its commencement. A bright and beautiful world, through fields and orchards, which are again repeating their contributions to the stores which support life, welcomes these young reapers to their several tasks. It eloquently teaches the lesson, that what has been, may be, and with the larger and surer returns which science and knowledge can obtain. The earth is an optimist and tells the faint-hearted and despairing its annual story, that the opportunities for success are as great in the present as they have been in the past, and are more varied.

Certainly in Virginia, with its record of unmixed descent, as long and clear

as that of any American commonwealth, the influence of heredity will not be doubted. The blood and the traditions of colonial and revolutionary times are still the potential power in the public spirit and private lives of the people of this State. In no department of human training and activity are the history and teachings of the past so important as in an institution of learning. Oxford and Cambridge are universities composed of many colleges. The graduate carries through life the diploma of the university; but his mind and character are moulded by his college. Each of these venerable schools indelibly stamps its alumni with the impress of its foundation and development.

It is a singular fact that Yale and Harvard, and the University of Virginia were each born from the brain of a single founder. Elihu Yale, and John Harvard builded their colleges that the Puritan pulpit might be supplied with learned teachers. Thomas Jefferson projected this University that the state might be served by broad and liberal-minded men. In two hundred and fifty years these two great New England seats of learning have evolved beyond the dreams, and possibly the wishes, of their creators. The orthodox divine, if called from his ancient surroundings and placed on the campus at Cambridge, amidst its babel of creeds and option of faiths, would first be bewildered at the marvelous growth of his idea, and then doubt whether its

growth and varied and splendid advantages were not the devices of the devil to draw students from the higher duties of a spiritual life. Elihu Yale, if reincorporated under the Cathedral Elms of New Haven and taken by a student of to-day through the departments and schools which so superbly equip as a university the college he planted, and through the gymnasium, the ball field and the boat house, which have substituted muscular training for scholastic retirement, would find something of the teachings he believed most important, but a freedom of thought and action and a selection of churches by the student which might make him doubt, from his Puritan stand point, whether saving grace had not been sacrificed to intellectual development. The trend of the mind and the tendency of advancing years is to enlarge the field of mental activity by breaking down the barriers reared by the fathers who distrusted liberty. The Puritan restrictions bred rebellion, and they have been swept away, but Puritan pluck and energy, Puritan ambition and indomitable purpose to explore and to conquer are still the spirit and hope of Yale and of Harvard.

When Jefferson founded his university upon a theory directly the opposite of the famous Puritan ministers and scholars a spasm of fear was followed by predictions of disaster. We were in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the seventeenth and the eighteenth still held religious

opinions by the throat. The results within these halls have been a signal triumph for liberty. The freedom which was to sap the foundations of belief, and send forth infidel youth to undermine the Church and ultimately destroy society, has proved the bulwark of Church and State. With eager and unhampered will it has sought for truth and found it. Free and enlightened conscience and trained and fearless judgment working together have wrought out opinions and practices in harmony with American faith and development.

There is nothing more poetic and pathetic in the story of statesmen than the creation of the University of Virginia. The evening and the morning kissed each other, and the mellow splendor of the setting sun prepared the world for the brilliant light of the rising orb of day. The Sage of Monticello had passed his three score years and ten, and by age and eminent service to his country was entitled to peace and rest. The author of the Declaration of Independence and the father of the bill for establishing religious freedom, Washington's Secretary of State, and President of the United States for two memorable terms, found himself when past seventy hopelessly involved in financial difficulties. The burden would have crushed many a younger man. But Jefferson, rising like the Phoenix, from the ashes of his private fortune, projected a college, "on a plan broad, liberal and modern." This noble foundation may not trace its lineage back to the dark ages, and its three-quar-

ters of a century may seem but a span to Oxford or Heidelberg. The light of its birth is better than centuries of groping towards the dawn. It has no rags to burn or prejudices to slough off. The formulator in maxim of the rights of man is its father, and his life and career are its inheritance and inspiration.

Until the American experiment, the struggle for liberty had been almost entirely upon spiritual lines. Nations fought and civil wars raged for the supremacy of dogma. The learned few went from the universities to lead the ignorant masses to life and death contests for doctrines, and hecatombs were slain and dynasties built up and overturned, on the interpretation of creeds. Catholics and Calvinists, Cavaliers and Puritans, took turns in persecuting each other, or visiting the supposed vengeance of the Almighty upon Baptists or Quakers. These fierce and merciless combats had wrought out the idea of religious toleration, when the discovery of Columbus opened the way for its exercise. The wilderness must be cleared for the settlement and the city, and civil liberty was impossible until religious freedom had been obtained.

The "peasants," said an Austrian chronicler in the sixteenth century "do not count among the estates of the realm because they have no voice in the Diet." The peasants were the farmers and artisans who formed seven-tenths of the population. That all the people do count in the affairs of

government is the essence of American liberty. It first found authoritative expression in Jefferson's immortal crystallization "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This declaration altered the course of the ages. Unfettered conscience had ended the efforts of the centuries to empower any man to prescribe the only way by which his neighbor could see God or find the path to Heaven. Henceforth liberty meant man's material welfare. It was always admitted, and is still undisputed, that a higher education is needed for his spiritual adviser, and that it broadens his own view of a spiritual life. But it has become fashionable to deny the value of a college course except for the professions.

Self-made men loudly proclaim their superiority in the practical affairs of the world. They begrudge the time and distrust the methods of the university. They proudly point to accumulated wealth and the success of gigantic enterprises, as the fruits of limited education and the larger opportunities of earlier training in business. The educated intelligence of the country is the safety of these arrogant accidents. Their insolent parade of their wealth would inspire the measures for its destruction, if the wisdom which is gained in the universities did not provide the policies by which the rights of all can be maintained.

under free institutions. No state could survive the revolutionary conditions under which the passions or the prejudices of the hour should be formulated into laws. The enactment of passion into statute, and constitutions by proclamation, created for France the horrors of her revolution and her crazy quilt of governments, down to her present and more constitutional Republic. They make the Central and South American nations a travesty upon law and order.

It is the sons of the colleges who have been the creators and the saviors of our liberties. It was the original genius and trained ability of Jonathan Mayhew from a Boston pulpit, which first sowed the seeds of American independence. Edmund Randolph, of William and Mary, and Samuel Adams, of Harvard, laid the foundation upon which the Continental Congress builded. They formulated the committees of correspondence which brought the colonies together. Brilliant orators fired the train whose explosion shattered the chains binding us to the mother country, but it was George Mason and James Otis, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee and Robert R. Livingston, all college men, who had stored the magazine with the powder of argument and conviction.

The greatest peril to the young Republic was after the last British soldier had sailed for home. The new confederacy was tottering to its fall under the assaults of those who thought that

liberty was surer by the independence of their colonies than in the union of states. The Union was formed, and constitutional liberty on this continent established, by the leadership of educated patriots. The strong, able and courageous men of the field and the forum, who, though only partially cultured, had been the victors of the battlefields and towers of strength in the councils of the country, in the presence of the enemy, became narrow and provincial when the pressure of danger was removed. Alexander Hamilton carried New York for the Constitution and the Union against the military prestige and popularity of Governor Clinton, whose indomitable but wrong-headed patriotism would have kept his state independent, Randolph, Madison and Jefferson saved Virginia to the Republic notwithstanding the fears and the fire of Patrick Henry. The Federalist was the gospel of freedom under a common flag, and a text book for federal powers for all time. Its work and beneficence were second only to those of the Declaration of Independence, and made secure the truths of that great document. Only statesmen of large reading and wide learning could have written it, and they were Hamilton, Madison and Jay, the flower of the colonial colleges of Princeton and Columbia.

Courage is the common attribute of our race, but to so die that the example inspires coming generations, belongs to those who know the past and the present for which they fight, and the significance to the

future of the success of the cause in which they fall. Nathan Hale, from Yale, standing alone upon the scaffold in the midst of enemies, calmly said "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." Joseph Warren, of Harvard, a Major General in rank, but without a command, hearing the firing at Bunker Hill, seized a gun and ran to the trenches to serve as a private soldier. To prudent Eldridge Gerry, who warned him of the danger and predicted his death, he blithely replied, as he was rushing to the front, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" In these two sentences, with the lives of their learned and cultured utterers behind them, is condensed the literature of patriotism, and the words and examples of Hale and Warren present to posterity an ever inspiring picture, whose background is formed by the unknown and unnamed heroes of the Continental army.

Insignificant incidents and important events are closely related in the affairs of the world, and trifles often turn the course of history. The tourist gazes out of a window in the old castle on the White Hill at Prague upon the ancient city and distant landscape. It is difficult for him to realize that though, at the close of a turbulent debate, three councillors were dropped from that window to the ground so gently as scarcely to soil their clothes, yet the assault brought on the thirty years' war, in which fair provinces were made desolate, cities sacked and the map of Europe changed.

Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Lee, who saw the dangers of slavery, and earnestly desired its abolition, died with gloomy forebodings for their country from the existence of a system which they were powerless to destroy. Jefferson, in that broad generalization which was the habit of his mind, promulgated the doctrine which, nearly seventy years afterwards, realized for his countrymen his aspiration. He did not utter it for this purpose, but it became, in the hands of Providence, the weapon of death and the spark of the resurrection. It strained the bonds of union to the point of breaking upon the one question, which the Fathers feared might end their Republic, and in removing the cause of our weakness and decay, it re-united the states for an eternity of mutual progress and patriotism.

The great debate continued for more than two-thirds of a century, and kept the nation in the throes of revolution. The expounders and defenders of the warring ideas of indissoluble union and federal compact were Daniel Webster, of Dartmouth, and John C. Calhoun, of Yale. From the armories of argument, stored with the weapons forged by their mighty minds and constructive genius, the less gifted drew their armor and their swords. In the press and on the platform, from the academic stage and the floor of the Senate, the opinions were uttered and enforced which were educating two sections of the same people to irreconcilable views of their government and constitution.

But nothing was added in the long discussion by the most eloquent or the most accomplished to the ideas of these cultured and giant champions, these superb representatives of the vigor and power, the concentration and polish which the college gives to its sons. Interest and passion relegated the great question to the arbitrament of war and the god of battles, and brave men of the same race and traditions met with equal valor upon bloody fields. The untrained volunteers illustrated the undiminished force of the fire and courage which for centuries have won famous victories, but the organizing and directing minds, handling with rarest skill and ability the forces and elements with which they had to work or cope, were on either side, the educated and equipped graduates of that splendid national college on the Hudson, the West Point Military Academy.

American liberty is the solvent which blends into one people all nationalities and tongues and creeds. We have to-day the living witnesses of its beneficent power. Many of us were in the heat and fury of the strife, and though it is hardly more than a quarter of a century since our lines of battle were drawn, you and I can cordially clasp hands under the same flag and rejoice in being citizens of the purest Republic and most powerful nation in the world. We can do more. Without prejudice or fear, with calm judgment and common pride, we can extol the genius and compare the merits of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, of Stonewall Jack-

son and General Sherman, and hail them as brothers in the free and open guild of liberal education.

A little learning is a dangerous thing !
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring ;
 There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 And drinking largely sobers us again.

Thus sang Pope, and his stanza has become one of the maxims of the language. The rule would not produce the best results in gratifications of the appetite, and has its exceptions in matters of the mind. Generalizations in some respects are like dynamite bombs, they must be handled with care. The effort to condense the truth frequently squeezes out so much as to impair the value of the residuum. The benefits and the blessings of broad learning for all who can secure them are not weakened because there have been phenomenal successes without these advantages.

This is the age of the specialist, and he attains eminent positions by the mastery of his department. At some period in our careers we all follow one line of life. But those are happier and stronger, more generous and ingenuous, who have spent the time for the more general discipline and larger culture of the university first, and then brought their trained and liberalized faculties to their chosen pursuit.

Only the famous few are so superbly endowed

that their careers seem to demonstrate the foolishness of wasting years in the college. The Commodore Vanderbilts, the George Laws, the Andrew Carnegies and some hundreds of others in business, and Hugh Miller, in science and authorship, Robert Burns, in poetry, Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, in the acquisition of languages, and the wizard Edison, bewildering and blessing mankind with his inventions, are, to the rest of the race, like meteors to the myriads of stars in the universe. Their creation and triumphs find explanation in the first message flashed over the electric wires .
 "What God hath wrought."

They, and millions of lesser lights, are the stumbling blocks of the Socialist. His theory of absolute equality in social and material conditions is hopelessly dissolved in dealing with superior natural endowments. Every distribution is followed by absorption by the thrifty from the thriftless, the industrious from the idle and the capable from the incompetent. Beneath the calm current of cotemporary events the far-sighted man sees the combinations which will form the eddies and whirlpool beyond. Or he divines with unerring judgment the happenings in the course of political, financial or industrial revolutions. He will reap the fruits of his sagacity, unless it is taken from him by violence. Bessemer adds more to the wealth of the world and the employment and opportunities of his fellow-men than the combined labor of fifty years has

produced. The fortune he wins is a commission upon his contribution to the common fund of enjoyment and independence too small to be appreciated by the recipients of the bounty of his genius. The only way the leveler can treat Bessemer and Edison is to rob them or kill them. The one course paralyzes ambition and communities die of dry rot, and the other is the broad descent from civilization to savagery. The life of liberty is equal opportunity for all, and subject to its proper contribution for the public welfare, the secure possession to every one of his earnings and property.

The singular spectacle is presented to us to-day of several thousands of men marching to Washington to shout into the ears of the representatives of seventy millions of people a message, which the constituencies of the senators and members of Congress have not sent nor authorized. The event emphasizes the wisdom of the fathers in placing the capitol far from great cities. In a time of temporary and perhaps only local madness a mob might overawe or frighten Congress into legislation injurious to or not sanctioned by the people at large. While the millions of law and order-loving citizens were at home peaceably pursuing the industries which supported their families and enriched the Republic, a crowd of tramps or madmen might seem, for the moment, the *vox populi, vox Dei*. When the army of the "Commonweal," after challenging for weeks the attention of the world to its movements, its mission, its origin, its effect upon

communities from which it demanded supplies and upon citizens whom it persuaded to abandon their employments and join its ranks, ended its campaign in a Washington jail for trampling on the grass, Olympus gently rocked with the laughter of the gods. But the movement has a very serious side. It is a symptom of unrest, and in smiling at the grotesqueness of its display we neither probe its causes nor provide its remedies.

Education has not kept pace with progress. The dissatisfaction in every country of the partially educated with Church and State and Society, and their efforts to overthrow them, are the evidences of the truth of Pope's maxim, and the success of the graduates of the scientific, the polytechnic, the industrial and the manual training schools—in other words of the specialists—demonstrates the value of the exceptions to it. Socialism and anarchy are the present terrors and future perils of all the nations of Continental Europe. The solution of these problems, in the crowded communities of the old world, is fraught with almost insuperable difficulties, very few of which exist with us. Our country is still comparatively unsettled, our resources are only partially developed and our possibilities for industry, for happiness and for homes are incalculable. The southern states offer almost boundless opportunities of agricultural and mineral wealth, and only the scattered seeds of prosperous

commonwealths and great cities cover vast regions of the west, the northwest and the Pacific Slope.

It has been estimated that the inventions and discoveries of the past fifty years have destroyed sixty per cent. of the world's accumulated capital and thrown out of employment forty per cent. of its wage-earners, the one being the property rendered valueless by new avenues for commerce, superior methods in machinery or the discovery of cheaper or better materials in manufactures, and the other, the workers thereby displaced and compelled to readjust their relations to physical or mental labor. The victims of the merciless march of this marvelous period may well long for the "good old times." The swiftly moving procession has left them with impaired fortunes or obsolete vocations. Steam and electricity, inventive genius and discovery, have added to wealth and opportunity a thousand fold more than they have destroyed, but the rapidity of the revolutions have thrown out of gear the order and arrangement adjusted by centuries of trial, and produced an eager longing and vague grasping for solidity and security. At each new crisis the frightened citizens appeal to the government for help, and national paternalism becomes the quest and danger of the hour. The success of this idea would lead to centralization of power, as full of peril to the Republic as absolute state sovereignty was to the Union. It would reverse the beneficent lesson and legacy of Jefferson, that "the government is best which governs least."

Every period has its own perils. They are the drastic processes by which, slowly but surely, the many sides of truth are evolved. To meet and overcome them is the mission of progressive peoples. That they exist from time to time is evidence of the advancement of nations to higher civilizations. They are the obstacles which block the pathways of reform and liberty. Stagnation is decay, and communities and individuals are alike subject to the eternal law which compels motion, which must be either backward or forward. Nothing stands still but death. The priest was the savior of one age, and the soldier of another, but the present needs for its leaders educated men. The graduates of the colleges, as they take their places in the schools and academies, in journalism and business, in the professions and the public service, must be the teachers for the times. The task may not be easy, but its difficulties form its fascination for honest-thinking and courageous workers. The fierce competitions of the hour compel the concentration of time and labor upon one's vocation for the maintenance of his family and to secure a home and competence for old age, or the care of the helpless whom he may leave behind. Hence few can enter public life. The uncertainties of such a course, owing to the localization of representatives and the shifting humor of localities make its adoption a hazard and not a career. It

is the highest duty of the liberally educated to perform public service in private station. Their practised ear can tell whether the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei*. They know whether it is the bawl of the demagogue or the cry of the well-meaning but mistaken crowd. To unmask the one and first check and then enlighten the other require independence and boldness.

Great parties ever watchful of each other, and anxious to serve the country wisely in order to hold the government, or alert to sieze upon and expose the errors or corruptions of the adversary to regain power, are the stay and hope of representative institutions. It is both a pleasure and a pride to be loyal and enthusiastic for the organization which professes your faith and principles. There are times when the shibboleth of party is a device for fraud or a shield for scamps. Rascals may capture the machinery and the voters be helpless in their toils. Then the educated man should point the way to the rescue of the city or the state. Smashing political machines never kills a party. It often leads it through defeat to pure methods and subsequent victories. The government of cities has become a menace to free institutions and has discredited the popular judgment. It is not because people are less competent to govern themselves in crowded communities, but because rival party organizations are so skilfully adjusted for plunder that the citizen has no alternative. The jobber and the robber pull their hands out of the

city treasury long enough to clap them together and shout, "If you disturb us by bolting the ticket, you will endanger the tariff or pass the force bill," and the scared voter is defrauded out of his municipal independence that he may save his national measures. By divorcing the city and its management, which is purely a matter of corporate business, from the affairs of the nation and the principles upon which it shall be governed, the municipal problem is solved.

It is with imported errors and practices which are foreign to our freedom and alien to our institutions, that we find it most difficult to deal. Socialism and anarchy have no proper place in this country and are not found among those born within our borders, or who, though coming to us from abroad, have come to accept our welcome and enjoy our citizenship under our constitution and laws. The institutions under which we live, and which are stronger after the strain of a century, develop and educate a citizenship which requires neither armed regiments nor police forces to suppress its riots, or its organized assaults upon life and property, upon law and order. Bloody lessons and costly experience have taught the necessity for more rigid supervision of immigration and more careful scrutiny of those who would assume the responsibilities and enjoy the priceless blessings of our equal rights. As the competitive conditions of the country demand a higher standard, the quality of the immigrants

deteriorates and the dignity and safety of the laborer, the peace of the community and the moral and physical health of the people are alike endangered. Let us establish quarantines against disease and crime at the places of embarkation abroad and ports of entry at home, and then with generous hospitality we will welcome all who will contribute by their characters, their industry and their loyalty to the support of our laws and the perpetuity of American institutions.

American sense, intelligence and patriotism confidently grasp and solve the problems which originate on American soil. Financial heresies may for a time endanger the stability of our credit and wreck our business, but they invariably yield under fair and fearless discussion. Industrial theories, which are wholly fantastic and grotesque, or with truth and error deftly mingled, may capture states and send representatives to Congress, but a campaign of education sooner or later converts their believers to sounder principles.

The race question at the close of the civil war was the most difficult one ever presented to any people, and the sudden and complete revolution of social, political, economic and industrial conditions, affecting the entire populations of great commonwealths, seemed to make the situation hopeless. The smouldering fires of civil strife and the heated passions of political parties enormously increased the dangers and perplexities of adjustment. It warped the judgment and in-

fluenced the action of leaders and followers, that the glittering and coveted prize of the possession of an empire might depend upon the result of forcing or fostering the natural laws of absorption and assimilation of incongruous elements in social convulsions.

The educated brains of the country never performed more signal service than in the efforts they made to maintain the rights of the states in the management of their local affairs, and, through the loyalty and devotion of its citizens, the power and prestige of the United States. In any other country and in any other age, there would have been provinces held by military force, or a renewal of civil war, or local anarchy. But the principles of constitutional government were so vigorous and vitalizing that none of the historic tragedies occurred which have heretofore attended the processes of control of grave internal disorders. Education has been, and will be, the great and successful factor in the peaceful settlement of a situation once so critical and now so hopeful.

With renewed faith in the solvent and life giving virtues of liberty, with restored confidence in the fraternal and dispassionate judgment of each State upon the trials of its neighbor and with a passionate devotion to the Union and its flag, which is not confined by territorial lines, nor limited by local prejudices, nor restricted by party, the whole people now work together for their common interests in the glory and growth of the Republic.

Governments have always been founded upon masses and classes, but our institutions have for their base and strength the individual as a unit. To this factor of freedom every opportunity must be offered of the school, the academy and the college. Government by majorities grows purer, more beneficent and more powerful as intelligence increases. The voice of the past is now seldom heard in the din of clashing opinions and interests. Saint Augustine and Saint Chrysostom, of the early Christian era, commanded the attention of the world. The schoolmen of the dark ages led the thought of the times through universities, where thirty thousand students were entered on the rolls. Luther and Melancthon, and Erasmus and Grotius, were spokesmen of the effort for spiritual, intellectual and civil liberty, which has incalculably affected the destinies of mankind. The Puritan divines of the first hundred years of New England settlement inspired the thought and governed the course of the colleges, and controlled the minds of the people. Now, no one, outside the antiquaries and critical few, reads the Fathers of the Church, the Schoolmen, the Leaders of the Reformation, or Cotton Mather, or Jonathan Edwards. The body of truth from which they derived their doctrines and constructed their systems is found in the open Bible, by every fireside in the land. From its pages the individual, according to his or her lights and opportunity, draws the lessons of life.

The times are ripe for a closer union and a more liberal and catholic opinion of the people of every part of the union towards each other. It is unworthy the heritage common to all, if the intelligence of Virginia and New York happen to be united upon great principles of governmental policy, that they should peril the triumph of their political faith because the prejudices of location and environment divide them. However great may have been the necessity for those of like minds, culture and doctrines, to enlist under hostile banners, the occasion no longer exists. The friends and the foes of protection and free trade, of metallic standards or fiat money, of rigid or liberal construction of the Constitution, of centralizing power or distributing it among the states, of paternalism or individual efforts, should be found north and south and east and west in their proper camps, and keeping step on the march to the music of their parties. This is the spirit emphasized under the shadow of the homes of Jefferson and Madison. The Sage of Monticello and John Adams, each the founder of a great party, and bitter antagonists in the field, spent the evening of their days in mutual correspondence and labors for their common country. The cannon and the church bells on the 4th of July, 1826, in every city and village, in every town and hamlet filled the air with the joy of a happy people, and wafted to Heaven the souls of these immortal patriots with the acclaim and incense of liberty. The

Puritan and the Cavalier, united in securing the independence of the colonies and the formation of the Republic, divided only upon the principles on which it should be governed, and reunited in their declining years and retirement from official service for its progress and perpetuity, were welcomed together on the same great day into the presence of their Maker. From the heavens above come to us the message of their lives and the lesson of their deaths. They teach the debt which educated men owe to the State and the duty which the State owes to education. They indicate the places which the colleges should hold in leadership and liberalism. They impress upon us with added emphasis as the Republic expands in population, wealth and power, the responsibilities resting upon each generation to foster and preserve the institutions which Jefferson and Adams and their compatriots created, and which have proved to be elastic enough to meet the needs of the most progressive of centuries, strong enough to resist the strain of civil war, liberal enough to permit the broadest freedom of thought and action and conservative enough to keep and transmit in their vigor and purity the principles of liberty and the blessings of the union of the states.

